United Nations S/PV.3572

Security Council

Fifteth Year

Provisional

3572nd Meeting

Thursday, 7 September 1995, 3.30 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Fulci	(Italy)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cárdenas
	Botswana	Mr. Nkgowe
	China	Mr. Qin Huasun
	Czech Republic	Mr. Sporýš
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	Germany	Mr. Kaul
	Honduras	Mr. Rendón Barnica
	Indonesia	Mr. Wibisono
	Nigeria	Mr. Ayewah
	Oman	Mr. Al-Sameen
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Rwanda	Mr. Ubalijoro
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Gomersall
	United States of America	Mr. Gnehm

Agenda

The situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Report of the Secretary-General submitted pursuant to Security Council resolution 1010 (1995) (S/1995/755)

95-85934 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 3.55 p.m.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

The President: At the outset of this formal meeting of the Security Council, allow me to express heartfelt appreciation and sincere congratulations to Ambassador Nugroho Wisnumurti of Indonesia for the impeccable way in which he presided over the work of the Council during the month of August. In so doing, I wish to single out in particular Ambassador Wisnumurti's outstanding sense of leadership, his extraordinary qualities in coordinating the work of the Council and his special talent as a remarkable communicator in informing the public and the media of the Council's position.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Report of the Secretary-General submitted pursuant to Security Council resolution 1010 (1995) (S/1995/755)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina in which she requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Ms. Kalajdzisalihović (Bosnia and Herzegovina) took a place at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General submitted pursuant to Security Council resolution 1010 (1995), document S/1995/755.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council has considered the report of the Secretary-General of 30 August 1995 (S/1995/755) submitted pursuant to its resolution 1010 (1995) of 10 August 1995.

"The Security Council strongly condemns the failure of the Bosnian Serb party to comply with the demands contained in resolution 1010 (1995). The Bosnian Serb party's refusal to cooperate with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) cannot but reinforce the deep concern expressed in that resolution and in previous resolutions and statements.

"The Security Council stresses its determination that the fate of persons displaced from Srebrenica and Zepa be established. It reaffirms its demands to the Bosnian Serb party to give immediate access for representatives of the UNHCR, the ICRC and other international agencies to such persons who are within the areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the control of Bosnian Serb forces, and to permit representatives of the ICRC to visit and register any persons detained against their will.

"The Security Council also reaffirms its demands to the Bosnian Serb party to respect fully the rights of all such persons, to ensure their safety and to release them.

"The Security Council reiterates that all those who commit violations of international humanitarian law will be held individually responsible in respect of such acts.

"The Security Council takes note of the investigations which are being carried out by the International Tribunal established pursuant to its resolution 827 (1993). The Council reiterates in this context that all States shall cooperate fully with the Tribunal and its organs, including by providing access to sites the Tribunal deems important for its investigations.

"The Security Council requests the Secretary-General to continue his efforts and to report to the

Council no later than 6 October 1995 regarding compliance with resolution 1010 (1995) and any further relevant information that may become available.

"The Security Council will remain actively seized of the matter."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1995/43.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 4 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3573

Security Council

Fifty-first Year

Provisional

3573rd Meeting

Thursday, 7 September 1995, 4 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Fulci	(Italy)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cárdenas
	Botswana	Mr. Nkgowe
	China	Mr. Qin Huasun
	Czech Republic	Mr. Sporýš
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	Germany	Mr. Kaul
	Honduras	Mr. Rendón Barnica
	Indonesia	Mr. Wibisono
	Nigeria	Mr. Aswewah
	Oman	Mr. Al-Sameen
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Rwanda	Mr. Ubalijoro
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Gomersall
	United States of America	Mr. Gnehm

Agenda

The situation in Croatia

Report of the Secretary-General submitted pursuant to Security Council resolution 1009 (1995) (S/1995/730)

95-85940 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 4 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Croatia

Report of the Secretary-General submitted pursuant to Security Council resolution 1009 (1995) (S/1995/730)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Croatia in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Nobilo (Croatia) took a place at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General submitted pursuant to Security Council resolution 1009 (1995), document S/1995/730.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council has considered the report of the Secretary-General of 23 August 1995 (S/1995/730) submitted pursuant to its resolution 1009 of 10 August 1995 on Croatia and in particular the humanitarian situation and human rights violations described therein.

"The Security Council expresses its deep concern at the grave situation of refugees and persons displaced during the Croatian offensive and at reports of violations of international humanitarian law as described in the report of the Secretary-General of 23 August 1995 (S/1995/730). The Council shares the view of the Secretary-General that the mass exodus of the local Serb population has created a humanitarian crisis of significant proportions. The Council is also concerned by reports of human rights violations including the burning of houses, looting of property and killings and demands that the Government of Croatia immediately investigate all such reports and take appropriate measures to put an end to such acts.

"The Security Council reiterates its demand that the Government of the Republic of Croatia respect fully the rights of the local Serb population including their right to remain or return in safety.

"The Security Council welcomes efforts made by the Secretary-General in coordination with international humanitarian organizations in response to this acute humanitarian situation. It calls upon all Member States to provide urgent humanitarian relief and assistance to these refugees and displaced persons.

"The Security Council reiterates that all those who commit violations of international humanitarian law will be held individually responsible in respect of such acts. The Council reiterates in this context that all States shall cooperate fully with the International Tribunal established pursuant to its resolution 827 (1993) and its organs.

"The Security Council will remain actively seized of the matter."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1995/44.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 4.10 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3574

Security Council

Fiftieth Year

Provisional

3574th Meeting

Thursday, 7 September 1995, 4.10 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Fulci	(Italy)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cárdenas
	Botswana	Mr. Nkgowe
	China	Mr. Qin Huasun
	Czech Republic	Mr. Sporýš
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	Germany	Mr. Kaul
	Honduras	Mr. Rendón Barnica
	Indonesia	Mr. Wibisono
	Nigeria	Mr. Ayewah
	Oman	Mr. Al-Sameen
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Gomersall
	United States of America	Mr. Gnehm

Agenda

The situation concerning Rwanda

Letter dated 25 August 1995 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1995/761)

95-85946 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 4.10 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning Rwanda

Letter dated 25 August 1995 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1995/761)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Zaire in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Lukabu Khabouji N'Zaji (Zaire) took a place at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/1995/761, which contains the text of a letter dated 25 August 1995 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1995/771, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to document S/1995/683, which contains the text of a note verbale dated 10 August 1995 from the Permanent Mission of Zaire to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

The first speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Zaire, on whom I now call.

Mr. Lukabu Khabouji N'Zaji (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): I should like to express, on behalf of the Republic of Zaire, our appreciation to the Permanent Representative of Indonesia for the way in which he conducted the proceedings of the Security Council last month. I also wish to avail myself of this opportunity, Sir, to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of September. I know you personally, and your intellectual, moral and diplomatic qualities assure us that the Council is in good hands.

The Council has before it a draft resolution establishing an International Commission of Inquiry into allegations of the supply of arms to the frontiers of the countries surrounding Rwanda. I referred to "allegations". My country, the Republic of Zaire, wholeheartedly supported the establishment of such a commission of inquiry at the Bujumbura Conference last February. It was during that Conference that my country demanded an end to the unhealthy accusations levelled at Zaire by certain elements in the region. To put an end to those accusations, Zaire proposed that an independent commission could address them and establish the truth.

It is now September. Zaire's request was made in February. One might say better late than never; but how long we have waited for this Commission to be set up. Some countries in the region put obstacles in its way. They did not want the Commission to be established — they did not want the truth to be established. We are pleased that the Security Council is able today, through the draft resolution now before us, to get this Commission under way.

But I should like to point out that Zaire has nothing to hide. This is shown by the fact that we are living with more than two million citizens of other countries on our territory. What do we have to hide? They are participating in trade. Does the 1951 Geneva Convention authorize refugees to conduct trade in the country of their asylum?

Some around this table who have enjoyed the hospitality of the Republic of Zaire and who, thanks to Zaire, were able to escape massacre and, again thanks to Zaire, occupy posts in international organizations on behalf of the Republic of Zaire are today hurling insults at Zaire.

In my country we say that one should not spit in the air, or the spit will fall into one's own face. I think my

point is clear, and I hope it will benefit those who are today living in camps, deprived of their homeland. Zaire does not expel refugees. It authorizes them to return to their country. Where is the harm in that? We would remind the Council that there are, furthermore, provisions allowing us to take such action.

In conclusion, I should like to express the appreciation of the Republic of Zaire to the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for sending to the region the High Commissioner for Refugees, Mrs. Ogata. She has just completed her mission in the region, and we are awaiting her report with impatience. We believe it could bring peace to this troubled region.

Zaire has nine neighbouring countries, of whom almost half are in a state of armed crisis. We bear an enormous burden, and we hope that the High Commissioner for Refugees, Mrs. Ogata, will promptly present her report to the Secretary-General for submission to the Security Council. We will then, once more, be in a position to make clear Zaire's intentions *vis-à-vis* the situation of the refugees on its territory.

The President: I thank the representative of Zaire for the kind words he addressed to me.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Ayewah (Nigeria): Mr. President, permit me to express my delegation's delight at seeing you preside over the affairs of the Council during the month of September. You may rest assured of my delegation's continued cooperation. Let me also use this opportunity to express my delegation's appreciation to Ambassador Nugroho Wisnumurti and the Indonesian delegation for their able stewardship during the month of August.

The proposal to establish a Commission to conduct a full investigation of allegations of arms flows to former Rwandese government forces, together with the efforts of the Secretary-General to convene a regional conference on security, stability and development in the Great Lakes region of Central Africa represent a combined effort to tackle the problems of the area from a regional perspective. This approach, we believe, is viable, given our awareness that problems in either Rwanda or Burundi have the potential to destabilize the whole subregion.

My delegation has therefore supported both initiatives in the belief that they would make a valuable contribution to confidence building among the countries of the region.

With respect to the draft resolution before us, which the Non-Aligned Movement Caucus had the privilege of initiating, we believe that it contains the elements — both technical and political — that are required to ensure that the Commission effectively discharges its functions. The proposals regarding the working methods and procedures of the Commission are generally in keeping with the character of such a body as an impartial entity. However, we need to be sure that all the States of the region are on board if it is to achieve the desired objectives. We therefore believe that the Secretary-General should continue his consultations to convince all the States of the region of the desirability of this idea.

We urge all States concerned to give full cooperation to the Commission. In fact, this process of consultation could form part of the mandate of the Secretary-General's new Envoy, Ambassador Luis Jesus, who will be organizing the regional conference, since we see both sides as mutually reinforcing.

Let me say in conclusion that we hope that the commission will approach its assignment in a businesslike manner and with dispatch. We look forward to receiving its conclusions as soon as possible.

The President: I thank the representative of Nigeria for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Nkgowe (Botswana): I would like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of September. I wish to assure you of the cooperation of the delegation of Botswana. I also wish to thank Ambassador Wisnumurti of Indonesia for his excellent stewardship of the Council last month.

The draft resolution contained in document S/1995/771 is before the Council today mainly because of reported violations of Security Council resolution 918 (1994) of 17 May 1994, which imposed the arms embargo on Rwanda. The flow of arms and related

matériel to elements of the former Rwandese government forces gravely undermines stability and national reconciliation in Rwanda and constitutes a serious threat to peace and security in the Great Lakes region.

This is not the first time that the Council has considered the question of the flow of arms to the former Rwandese government forces. The possibility of deploying military observers in airfields and other transportation points in and around border crossing points in the neighbouring States has been explored. The outcome of that proposal is now a matter of public record. The establishment of an International Commission of Inquiry perhaps represents the Council's last hope in its efforts to end this flow of arms. The significance and urgency of the work of the Commission and its contribution to peace and security in the Great Lakes region cannot therefore be overemphasized in this regard.

The success of the Commission hinges on the cooperation that it can receive from all concerned in the subregion and beyond, as reflected in operative paragraph 5 of the draft resolution. The cooperation of all States is equally important. Operative paragraph 3 calls upon States to collate relevant information and make it available to the Commission. Operative paragraph 7 calls upon all States to cooperate with the Commission in facilitating its investigations. It is clear that the international community has a role to play in the success of the work of the Commission.

The President: I thank the representative of Botswana for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Wibisono (Indonesia): At the outset, my delegation would like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of September. Your experience and leadership will undoubtedly facilitate and guide our deliberations in the Security Council. My delegation pledges its full cooperation to you as you discharge your tasks.

My delegation would also like to express its appreciation to your and other delegations for the kind words addressed to Ambassador Nugroho Wisnumurti, and I wish to assure you that I will convey these kind words to him.

The Indonesian delegation would like to thank the Secretary-General for his informative report on the situation in Rwanda (S/1995/678) of 8 August 1995 and his subsequent letter of 25 August 1995, which provides recommendations on the establishment of an International Commission of Inquiry to address allegations about illegal flows of arms in the Great Lakes region of Central Africa.

We are deeply concerned about recent allegations concerning the sale and supply of arms and related *matériel* to the former Rwandese government forces. We believe that the uncontrolled circulation of arms in the Great Lakes region of Central Africa is a major source of destabilization. We are therefore convinced that this situation should be improved in order to create a climate conducive to peace, stability and development in the region. My delegation is of the view that this draft resolution has the potential to deter those factions which seek further to destabilize an already delicate and fragile situation in Rwanda and throughout the Great Lakes region of Central Africa.

We are particularly appreciative of the efforts made by the Government of Zaire in initially proposing this Commission and emphasizing the urgency of the need for it for facilitating regional stability. This proposed Commission to invest the United Nations with the authority to investigate the alleged illegal supply of arms symbolizes the political will of Zaire to contribute to the peace process in the region. My delegation therefore believes that the Commission should establish close cooperation with the countries of the Great Lakes region of Central Africa to ensure the successful implementation of its mandate.

My delegation is confident that a termination of the brutal hostilities and human carnage that Rwanda has endured for a good part of this century can most effectively be pursued through political means that emphasize peaceful solutions while being cognizant of the regional dimensions of the issues that confront Rwanda and impact its internal and external security. We are confident that this proposed Commission articulates a sound structure for the identification and resolution of this current conflict.

The situation in Rwanda and in the broader context of the Great Lakes region represents the quintessential expression of the challenges that confront the Council in dealing with the political, social and economic interdependence of the post-cold-war world. That is, we are experiencing on a massively universal scale a convulsive in-gathering of people across tribal, racial, linguistic, religious and national lines. The recent crises in Bosnia, Burundi and Rwanda are powerful reminders

of the need to develop viable security structures based on the principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity — principles we all espouse. The justification for such reasoning can be extrapolated from the fact that over the past 45 years the developing world has endured 145 wars and witnessed the killing of over 40 million people.

We are profoundly aware of the toll that the ebbs and flows of progress and disappointment has taken on all who have dealt with the seemingly intractable problems in Rwanda. Moreover, we are sensitive to the concerns voiced by the respective Governments in the region in their efforts to face this crisis. In this regard, it is the view of my delegation that the pertinent resolutions previously adopted by the Council have made progress with respect to the problems of refugees, arms, humanitarian needs, security zones and the development of judicial institutions.

A window of opportunity is at hand to enhance the progress made so far between the Government of Rwanda and the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) and the attempts to engage Burundi, Rwanda and Zaire in joint military patrols along their common borders. Many challenges, however, lie ahead as Rwanda aspires to achieve its objective of national reconciliation, reconstruction and national security. We trust the Council will continue to exercise responsibility and act with a sense of urgency and expedition in this matter.

My delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution to establish such a Commission. Its creation is necessary to investigate alleged violations of resolutions 918 (1994), 997 (1995) and 1011 (1995), which, *inter alia*, placed an embargo on the sale and supply of arms to former Rwandan government forces. We hold the principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity in high regard, and we have faith that the Commission is aware of the sanctity of these ideals as it embarks on its mandate.

We expect that the Commission's findings will clarify the current ambiguity that surrounds these issues and will contribute to Rwanda's aspirations of achieving national reconciliation, stability, peace and prosperity.

The President: I thank the representative of Indonesia for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Qin Huasun (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): Allow me at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the important post of the presidency of the Security Council. I am convinced that, given your wisdom, experience and outstanding talent, you will guide the Council's work this month to a successful outcome. I wish also to take this opportunity to thank your predecessor, His Excellency Ambassador Wisnumurti of Indonesia, for successfully guiding the Council's work last month.

The Commission of Inquiry is being established for the purpose of investigating arms deliveries to members of the former Rwandan government forces, with a view to adopting effective measures to check these deliveries, thus creating conditions for social stability in Rwanda. As the Secretary-General has pointed out, the establishment of the Commission will be an important element in preventing renewed conflict in the region. Based on its consistent support for the peace process in Rwanda, the Chinese delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us.

We hope that the Commission will cooperate fully with the countries concerned, for only with their cooperation and support can it successfully carry out its mandate. We therefore hope that the Commission, while exercising its rights, will see to it that the sovereignty of these countries is respected and that there is no interference in their internal affairs. We believe that the adoption of this draft resolution will further promote peace and stability in Rwanda and help the Rwandan people to achieve, at an early date, national reconciliation and to live and work in peace and contentment.

It is an important component of China's foreign policy to strengthen friendly relations of cooperation with all African countries. China supports the African people in their efforts to maintain peace and stability. We deeply sympathize with the conflict-torn African continent in the post-cold-war era and with its people in their suffering caused by the conflicts. We hope that the international community will continue to take measures to help the Rwandan Government and people resolve their current difficulties so that they can enjoy peace and stability again at an early date.

The President: I thank the representative of China for the kind words he addressed to me.

As the list of representatives wishing to speak before the vote is exhausted, I shall now put draft resolution S/1995/771 to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Botswana, China, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Honduras, Indonesia, Italy, Nigeria, Oman, Russian Federation, Rwanda, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1013 (1995).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Mérimée (France) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of France wishes to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council, and we wish warmly to thank His Excellency the Ambassador of Indonesia for the way in which he conducted the proceedings of the Council last month.

The Government of Zaire, in a note verbale dated 10 August 1995 addressed to the President of the Council, proposed the establishment under the auspices of the United Nations of an international commission of inquiry to be charged with thoroughly investigating allegations regarding the supply of arms to former Rwandan government forces in the Great Lakes region of Central Africa. The Kinshasa authorities also indicated their readiness to assist such a commission and to provide it with all the necessary cooperation for the discharge of its mandate.

The Government of France is gratified that the Zaire initiative has led today to the adoption by the Security Council of a resolution devoted to the establishment of this Commission.

Since the adoption of resolution 918 (1994), many allegations have circulated regarding the assistance that the former Rwandan governmental forces continue to receive. These allegations have largely contributed to maintaining in Central Africa an atmosphere of distrust, which in part explains the difficulties facing the international community today in restoring peace and promoting national reconciliation in Rwanda and more generally in the Great Lakes region.

It has therefore become essential to set up a Commission whose mandate it will be to shed light, once and for all, on the many accusations that continue to poison relations between the countries of the region. We hope — and the text of the resolution gives us assurances in this respect — that the Commission will conclude its inquiry rapidly and with full impartiality.

We also hope that, on the basis of the facts that it gathers, the Commission will be able to recommend concrete measures to end illegal arms flows in the subregion.

My Government is, of course, prepared to cooperate fully with the work of the International Commission of Inquiry.

The President: I thank the representative of France for his congratulations addressed to me.

Mr. Gnehm (United States of America): At this first meeting of the Council under your leadership, Sir, let me congratulate you on assuming the presidency of the Council. We look forward to working closely with you on the important matters that will be coming before the Council in the course of this month.

Let me also take this opportunity to thank Ambassador Wisnumurti of Indonesia for his outstanding work last month. As experience demonstrates, the month of August is not a vacation season for this Council. We were certainly fortunate to have his wise guidance in our deliberations for the past month.

Today we have endorsed the creation of a fact-finding Commission to investigate the deadly flow of arms and other war *matériel* to the former Rwandan armed forces. The Commission will determine whether arms dealers are indeed stoking the fires of civil war.

The Commission of Experts appointed to investigate the Rwandan genocide concluded that the former Rwandan leaders should be indicted and tried for genocide and crimes against humanity, and to that end, in resolution 955 (1994) of November 1994, the Security Council created the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda to bring them and others to justice.

Now these same international criminals seem to be rearming, recruiting and retraining their forces, with the assistance of persons outside Rwanda who are willing to flout the international prohibition contained in Security Council resolutions.

In resolutions 918 (1994) and 997 (1995), the Security Council imposed an embargo on all sales or transfers of arms to be used in Rwanda. Resolution 1011 (1995) suspended the embargo on arms transfers to the new Rwandan Government, but maintained the embargo on shipments of arms to the former Rwandan armed forces. With the adoption of this resolution, the Security Council is taking the steps necessary to enforce this arms embargo.

When the Government of Zaire first proposed the idea of a commission to investigate the flow of arms to the former Rwandan armed forces, my Government welcomed the concept. We recognize the hardships the Government and the people of Zaire have faced due to the influx of hundreds of thousands of refugees. Even with the infusion of massive amounts of humanitarian aid, there has been increased competition for the already scarce resources in this impoverished area, leading to political instability. We regret the Government of Zaire's decision last month to forcibly repatriate refugees, and we trust that they will not return to such drastic measures. We commend them for taking the initiative to suggest the International Commission of Inquiry which we have acted upon today.

Zaire's proposal was an important step in the development of the resolution adopted today, which we believe will make a significant contribution to the effort to maintain peace in Central Africa and create the conditions for the voluntary return of refugees in dignity and safety. We are especially pleased that this resolution empowers the Commission to go wherever necessary to gather evidence of possible arms transfers and military training. We believe the Commission should conduct interviews and place observers at the airfields and border checkpoints near Rwandan camps in Zaire and Tanzania, the places illicit transfers are most likely to occur. They should also explore allegations of suspicious activities in and around the reputed military camps of the former Rwandan armed forces.

The Commissioners should cast their net wide, with a firm determination to identify anyone or any group engaged in illicit arms traffic. We look forward to the Commission's report in December.

The flow of illegal arms to the former Rwandan armed forces can fatally undermine the fragile stability and peace in the region and undermine the efforts of all those working so hard to improve the political, economic and humanitarian situation. The region is awakening from the nightmare of death and brutality. We must ensure this nightmare does not recur.

The President: I thank the representative of the United States for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Kaul (Germany): I should like first to extend to you, Sir, my delegation's congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of September. My delegation is ready to work closely with you during your period in office. I would also like to express the thanks and appreciation of my delegation to Ambassador Wisnumurti for his convincing leadership and very effective conduct of business during the month of August.

Germany has taken an active role in all efforts aimed at furthering peace and security in and around Rwanda and the Great Lakes region. In line with our active and intensive commitment since the outbreak of the crisis in Rwanda last year, Foreign Minister Kinkel travelled to the subregion in July. But the problems in the subregion are by no means resolved, and, unfortunately, instability persists.

My delegation voted in favour of resolution 1013 (1995), which we have just adopted, because we think that an International Commission of Inquiry to investigate allegations of arms flows to former Rwandan government forces in the Great Lakes region can make a valuable contribution to achieving regional stability. First, it will help curb the illegal flow of arms in the subregion. Secondly, it will bring stability to the countries concerned by establishing clarity and the truth with regard to existing allegations. Thirdly, it will help foster cooperation between the countries of the region.

This resolution is based on recommendations made by the Secretary-General, for which we are grateful. The Government of Zaire, in particular, has called for the establishment of such a Commission. Consequently, we expect that the authorities of Zaire and of the other countries in the region will closely cooperate with and fully support the work of the members of the Commission.

We hope that the establishment of this Commission will be an important step towards stabilizing the situation in the Great Lakes region. Others will have to follow. In this respect, we welcome in particular the appointment of a Special Envoy of the Secretary-General to work for the preparation and convening of a regional conference. Such a conference will help the countries of the subregion achieve long-lasting stability. Germany is willing to assist them in their efforts.

The President: I thank the representative of Germany for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Gomersall (United Kingdom): Firstly, my delegation would like to thank Ambassador Wisnumurti and his delegation for the wise and effective way in which they conducted the presidency of the Security Council in August, and to pledge to you, Mr. President, our full cooperation in helping you fulfil your responsibilities this month in the Council, for which you have always demonstrated your most pre-eminent concern.

My delegation strongly supports the Secretary-General's recommendations, contained in his letter of 25 August 1995, and is pleased that this Council has adopted unanimously the draft resolution before it to establish an International Commission to investigate allegations of arms flows to the former Government of Rwanda forces in the region. There has been widespread concern at the continuing allegations that arms and related *matériel* have been reaching these forces and the militias in the camps. The United Kingdom shares that concern, since we believe that the activities of these elements represent a real threat to the security and stability of Rwanda, of Burundi, and of the whole Great Lakes region.

The voluntary and safe return of refugees to Rwanda is essential for the long-term stability of that country. But the intimidation of refugees by armed elements in the camps has acted as a deterrent to their voluntary return. Breaking the hold of those militias and accelerating efforts to create conditions within Rwanda which will encourage the refugees to return are therefore essential.

We therefore hope that the Commission will be able to establish an accurate picture of whether arms and related *matériel* are reaching these extremist elements. Its findings will provide an objective basis for the consideration of possible measures to improve the monitoring and enforcement of the arms embargo established under Security Council resolution 918 (1994) and the subsequent resolutions. We urge all States to comply fully with the requirements of those resolutions.

Countries in the region which have accepted large numbers of refugees from Rwanda, and also Burundi, are shouldering an enormous burden. We understand the many problems this has created for them. But it is very much in their interests, too, to cooperate with the Commission to ensure that arms and related *matériel*, which could destabilize their own countries as well as Rwanda, do not reach the extremist elements in the camps in violation of the Council's resolutions. We therefore call upon all States in the region to cooperate fully with the Commission.

We must also not lose sight of the wider picture. In this context we very much welcome the Secretary-General's letter of 29 August 1995 on the situation in the Great Lakes region. This letter sets out clearly the key problem areas. We share the Secretary-General's concern and underline the need for a coordinated and effective response from the international community. In that context, we welcome and support the initiatives that the Secretary-General is undertaking.

The President: I thank the representative of the United Kingdom for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Lavrov (Russian Federation) (*interpretation from Russian*): Since this is the first formal meeting of the Security Council in September, it gives me sincere satisfaction to welcome you, Sir, to the post of President of the Security Council and to wish you success. I should also like to express gratitude to your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of Indonesia, Ambassador Wisnumurti, for his skilled guidance of the activities of the Council in August.

The delegation of the Russian Federation has already on several occasions expressed serious concern over the explosive situation in the subregion of the Great Lakes in central Africa. The tense situation existing there, resulting from the exacerbation of political and ethnic problems, is significantly aggravated by the uncontrolled spread of arms among civilians and refugees, which is creating a real threat to peace and stability for all the countries of the region. Particular concern is caused by reports of the supply of arms to former Rwandan government forces in violation of the embargo imposed by resolutions 918 (1994) and 1011 (1995).

The Russian delegation is firmly convinced that the tasks of ensuring security, peace and stability in Rwanda and throughout the region can be implemented only through a balanced and comprehensive approach. An integral part of this, in our view, must be the establishment of a solid barrier to the illegal dissemination of arms, as such a flow could give rise to a new cycle of bloody violence and fratricidal war in Rwanda, with all the devastating consequences that would arise for the peoples of the region.

On that basis, we have voted in favour of the resolution just adopted, together with all the other members of the Council. The resolution adequately reflects the existing situation and is balanced and measured. We are convinced that the establishment of the International Commission to investigate allegations of supplies of arms to the former Rwandan government forces will substantially contribute to averting a resumption of the conflict in the region. It is important that the Commission commence implementation of the mandate entrusted to it without delay. It is clear that the success of the activity of the Commission will significantly depend on the cooperation and support of the Governments of interested countries of the region, and we call on them to provide the Commission with all necessary assistance and support.

We believe that the conclusions and recommendations of the Commission will be a sound source of assistance for the international community in its efforts to normalize the situation in the Great Lakes region.

The President: I thank the representative of the Russian Federation for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Cárdenas (Argentina) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: I should like, first of all, to welcome you, Sir, and to say how pleased our delegation is to see you presiding over the work of the Security Council for the month of September, and to express our esteem for you. At the same time, I should like to express my thanks to the delegation of Indonesia for the work they did on behalf of us all during the month of August.

The continued complaints regarding the acquisition of illegal arms by some members and the militia of the former Rwandan Government in neighbouring territories, as well as their military training, armed infiltration and acts of sabotage, all aimed at destabilizing Rwanda, have made it vital that the Council establish an International Commission of Inquiry in order to clarify the situation and recommend measures to put an end to these illegal actions.

The Secretary-General, following his recent visit to the region, informed us that the leaders he had interviewed were aware that the instability of any State of the region would have repercussions beyond its borders, that is, on its neighbours. For that reason, we hope that the work of the Commission will receive the total and constant support of the Governments involved. Without that support, it might not only be seriously hampered in its task, but the task itself might be reduced to a mere academic exercise.

We see with great appreciation that the Government of Zaire has already expressed both its support for the Commission and its clear readiness to cooperate with it. We hope that the other Governments of the region will also respond positively, and that the Commission will be able to begin its work as soon as possible; and that it will be able, with the cooperation of all, to submit its conclusions and recommendations to us within the time-frame proposed by the Council.

This Commission constitutes another instrument to deal with the burning subject of refugees in the region. Its action will be extremely important in seeking to restore confidence and putting an end to the many suspicions and deep resentments that persist. This will help attain the ultimate objective, which is that the great mass of refugees in the region will be able to return voluntarily to their places of origin. This will be accomplished only when the population recovers a minimal sense of security, when it sees that justice does indeed exist, and that peaceful coexistence, with tolerance among different ethnic groups, is possible.

We trust that the international community will respond generously with the necessary resources, both financial and other, to the cooperative efforts of the countries of the region, which should be supported and sponsored by this, our Organization.

The President: I thank the representative of Argentina for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Bakuramutsa (Rwanda) (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of my delegation, allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of September. My delegation is confident that your wisdom and experience, as well as your spirit of impartiality, will guide the Council's work in an exemplary manner. You may rely on the cooperation of the Rwandan delegation.

I also wish to take this opportunity to thank the President of the Council for last month, Ambassador Nugroho Wisnumurti, the Permanent Representative of Indonesia, for the outstanding work he accomplished in the month of August. It was during his presidency that Rwanda began to see the light at the end of the tunnel in this Council. My delegation wishes to thank him for this.

My delegation also thanks the Caucus of the Non-Aligned Movement, of which Rwanda is a member, for submitting the resolution. We fully support its contents.

It was time such a resolution was adopted in order to ensure respect for resolution 918 (1994), which imposed an arms embargo on Rwanda. Indeed, on several occasions my delegation has asked, through various Presidents of the Council, that the Council or the Secretariat provide information on the training and arming of the former Rwandan armed forces. No positive response was ever received. Fortunately, four non-governmental organizations of different kinds — Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, Médecins Sans Frontières and the BBC — took an interest in the matter. It is a shame that this problem, which affects the security of an entire region, should be put on the back burner, when prevention would cost the United Nations and its Member States less than allowing the situation to fester.

Resolution 918 (1994) was imposed on Rwanda and on countries that were engaged in violations. My delegation feels that any resolution aimed at verifying respect for this embargo must also fall under Chapter VII. Since this is not the case, the members of the Commission will not have a free hand in doing their verification and the result of their work may thereby be blunted. My delegation therefore feels that it was necessary to invoke Chapter VII in order to give this resolution enough strength, just as it was for the resolution whose implementation it is intended to verify.

There are many indications that resolution 918 (1994) has been violated on a number of occasions; respected authorities and reliable organizations have documented this and eminent personalities have confirmed it. All of these organizations and individuals belong to countries that are affected by the violations or that share the same moral values. We believe that it is important that the Commission take this into account. The Rwandan Government is prepared to assist the Commission and to share with it any information that it has.

My delegation wishes to make two observations. First, the problem of arms is woven into a fabric that cannot be touched without referring to the impunity enjoyed by the criminals who masterminded the genocide in Rwanda. These people, to be found in the countries of the region and in Europe and America, pass themselves off as refugees while organizing the arming of the former Rwandan armed forces.

The problem of arms is linked to that of the return of refugees: arming them creates an atmosphere of tension which does nothing to facilitate their welcome in the country. The non-functioning of the local courts and the International Tribunal contributes to filling the jails. Tension in the prisons could be reduced and pardons granted if the countries which harbour these criminals at least arrested the 10 worst offenders. That is why a bad solution can only perpetuate the problem in Rwanda and its neighbours.

My second remark concerns the type of cooperation that has evolved in Rwanda and the region. There has been more cooperation in armaments — that is, in destruction — than in development. This situation concerns not only Rwanda, but other African countries, including Angola and Mozambique, to name but two. It is high time for a resolution to be submitted — in the Security Council and/or in the General Assembly — demanding that those countries that help Africans to kill each other be obliged to rebuild the countries that fall victim to this destructive cooperation.

My delegation recognizes the right of any country, organization or corporation to sell arms to a State or give it military assistance, but it objects to these weapons' being used to violate human rights. We appeal once again to those countries which export arms to Africa to become providers of computers and tractors instead; thus will Africa become an economically sound and politically stable partner.

The President: I thank the representative of Rwanda for his kind words addressed to me.

I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of Italy.

Convincing information exists that arms are being supplied to the former Rwandan government forces in violation of the current embargo. These allegations are creating ever more dangerous tensions, which are worsening the situation in the Great Lakes region. The international community is alarmed at the possibility of a large-scale rearmament of those responsible for last year's genocide, which is still haunting us. This potential rearmament is bound to increase the perception of insecurity and imminent danger in Rwanda. What is more, this potential rearmament may obstruct national reconciliation, which must be based on a dialogue between all ethnic groups and be aimed at peaceful coexistence — a policy that can succeed only if Kigali is not constrained by the perception of external threats.

In this respect, we are encouraged by the solemn appeal of the President of Rwanda, Pasteur Bizimungu,

for the repatriation of refugees, which he made during the visit of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Mrs. Ogata. We hope that this appeal and the new Rwandan Government's policy decision will help to alleviate the fears of the refugees.

My Government fully supports the resolution just adopted, because it is well aware of the crucial role that the International Commission of Inquiry may and should have. Of course, to obtain concrete results, the Commission must be allowed to operate with complete autonomy and with the support of all the Governments concerned. The Secretary-General's latest progress report on Rwanda noted that the Governments in the region are fully aware of the fact that these illegal weapons have a highly destabilizing influence not only on Rwanda, but also on its neighbours. The report also emphasized the belief shared in the region that this traffic should be fought through collaborative efforts.

The new Commission, it seems to us, is off to a good start, because it can count on the cooperation needed for a successful performance of its mandate. Let us hope that the results will meet expectations.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

There are no further speakers on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 5.10 p.m.